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Syllabus of course III

Terre Haute, Ind.

1896

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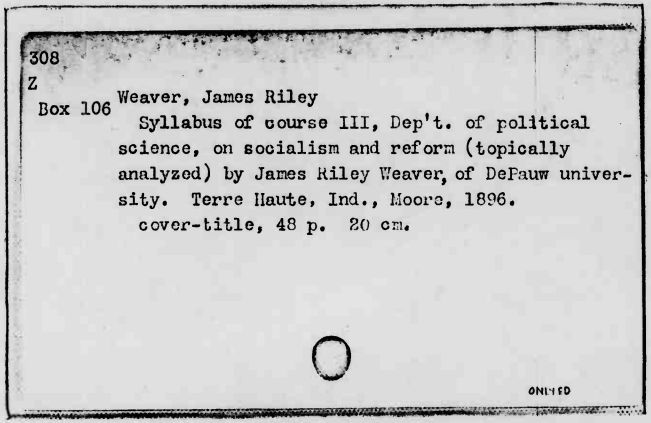
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... SYLLABUS ...

OF

Course III, Dep't of Political Science,

ON

Socialism and Reform.

(TOPICALLY ANALYZED.)

BY

JAMES RILEY WEAVER,

OF

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY.

308
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Box 106

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DEPAUW UNIVERSITY,

Department of Political Science,

GREENCASTLE, INDIANA.

SOCIALISM AND REFORM.

Following Syllabus of Course 11 on Sociology.

JAMES RILEY WEAVER, A. M.

Professor of Political Science at DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.

EXPLANATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE METHOD OF WORK.

No special text book is desired. Modern methods, especially in all sociological subjects, substitute the library or laboratory method. This embraces the following features: Subjects or topics are studied, not texts. To discover historical data individual opinion is insufficient, but must be confirmed by evidence of others. Hence, the duty of the student is to discover the problem and to collect the proofs. Books, charts, etc., are tools; these must be used by the student as well as the professor. Too much help stultifies the intellect; it must be rather awakened to activity and self-dependence. The very germ of the method consists in and presupposes an ability of each member of the class to do individualized work; to carry on such an investigation without the immediate help of a tutor or text book. Whenever practical, original work is encouraged, and the task of investigating the sociological conditions of the various cities

and institutions of the state is assigned for special research, in which great interest has been manifested.

The Syllabuses of the various topics aim to present the bare outline, analyzed in as compact and logical a form as the complexity of the subject and the conditions of time and space will permit. They serve to keep the attention of the class, in its investigations and discussions, unified or directed to the same points, which is especially necessary where the data are so abundant and complex. They serve furthermore the practical end of saving time, as they furnish succinct statements of truths which must be carefully canvassed in class. Without the syllabus, therefore, time would be necessarily consumed in much additional note-taking. The bibliography shows the chief sources of information. Certain authors are starred as being most helpful; but while these should be thoroughly studied, all should be made as familiar as time will permit. To become independent thinkers the topical, laboratory method is believed to be preëminently the best. Thereby data are more logically concatenated and associated, hence retained in the memory and made more actively valuable, whether from a theoretical or practical standpoint.

It is recommended to keep note-books for class work, also outside reading and investigation. The method of arrangement is not so important as the thing itself. Fix upon some satisfactory plan and follow it. Note-taking may be abused; for example, when one dismisses the thought from his mind because he has taken note of it. The noting should be helpful to impress a fact, an analysis, or a philosophic deduction on the memory.

The work of the course comprises attendance on class exercises for lecture, discussion and elucidation of obscure points. More than one week's absence from these exercises must be made good by additional work in the laboratory, and extra class quizzes. The minimum of time devoted to the subject is ten hours weekly in addition to class exercises; and in this laboratory work will be included all time devoted to the general topics, reports of special phases of the several topics and the final thesis required of all on some particular phase of the general subject. This thesis is regarded as embodying the best results of the student's individualization. In such an investigation the roots of original work (creation) should appear.

Syllabus of First Topic.

SCOPE, NATURE, METHOD, BIASES.

Bibliography: *Bascom*, Socialism; Social Theory; *Brown*, Studies in Modern Socialisms (containing most exhaustive bibliography of the subject); *Cossa*, Introduction to Study of Political Economy, Chap. XVI; *Ely*, French and German Socialism, Int. Chap.; *Fabians*, Essays and Tracts; *Giddings*,* *Patten*, *Shaw*, etc., in Annals of Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science; *Gunton*, Economic Basis of Socialism; *Hamilton*, Present Status of social Science; *Kirkup*, History of Socialism; *Laveleye*, Socialism of To-day; *Mackenzie*, Social Philosophy; *Mayo-Smith*, Statistics and Sociology; *Morley*, Compromise; *Noyes*, American Socialism; *Patten*, Theory of Social Forces; *Schäffle*, The Quintessence of Socialism;* *Small* and *Vincent*, Study of Society;* *Spencer*, Study of Sociology;* Principles of Sociology; *Ward*, Dynamic Sociology; Psychic Factors of Civilization; *Weaver*, Syllabus of Sociology, Topics 2d and 3d; Encyclopedias; *Poole's Index* and *Review of Reviews* for current literature of the subject.

I. Scope of the Study. (Course III.)
1. Overlap of subjects illustrated by diagrams.
   a. Man's triple relation to God, property, neighbor.
   b. Analysis facilitates finite comprehension.
   c. Synthesis needed to unify and equate truth.
   d. Overlaps so multiform and intricate as to be apprehended only after most careful reflection.
2. Man's social relations progressively considered.
   a. The home group (family), organized domesticity.
   b. The community covering preëminently
      a. School absorbing mainly organized education.
      b. Church embracing chiefly organized religion.
      c. Market developing mostly organized industry.
   c. The State, involving organized political interests.
   d. What parts of these fall within Socialism?
3. Utility and significance of correct terminology.
   a. Nature and necessity of exact terms.
      a. In beginning must be only general.
      b. Careful distinctions preclude misapprehensions.
      c. False implications not mislead the unwary.
   b. Broadest sense, a system or philosophy of life.
      a. Society an organism, as per Aristotle, etc.
      b. The opposite of individualism, Wagner, etc.
   c. Narrower, technical relates to man's economic life.
      a. Regulated by the State or community.
      b. By radical changes of present political methods.
      c. Brought in by proletariat or social democrats.
   d. General misconceptions to be guarded against.
      a. Not necessarily destructive of individualism.
      b. Nor of state (anarchy) but its antithesis.
4. Limitations of Sociology as a University study.
   a. Use of terms (hybrid), by whom employed.

b. Relation between Socialism and Sociology.
  a. Socialism only a specific phase of Sociology.
  b. State Socialism then our central subject.
c. Main problems involved. (see page 7 of Syllabus II.)

II. Nature of Social Sciences in General Traits.
1. Both a philosophy and a science.
  a. Latter discovers and organizes facts.
  b. Former explains these and seeks causes.
  c. Theoretical application suggests methods of reform.
2. Social sciences are inexact; inductive-deductive.
  a. If no science of mass, none of individual.
  b. Character of aggregate determined by components.
  c. Use and abuse of term social organism.
    a. Analogy from plant and animal helpful.
    b. Pushed too far, becomes positively misleading.
    c. Various contentions of Small, Giddings, etc.
3. Nature of social evolution (Spencer and Small.)
  a. At first, little differentiation as in biology.
  b. Subsequent growth and aggregation evolve
    a. Functions and names: king, priest, captain.
    b. Complicated social mechanism, survival of fittest.
  c. Reciprocal relation between function and growth.
    a. May retard growth by conservative fixity.
    b. Unbuilding as necessary as upbuilding.
    c. Structure (anatomy) *vs.* function (physiology).
  d. Society possesses dynamical and statical forces.
    a. Active and passive social dynamics.
    b. Former ignored by Spencer *vs.* Ward.
  e. Order and sequence must prevail between structure and functional changes. Knowing these prevents us from mistaking utopian for practical methods of reform.

III. Method of Study.
1. Leading characteristics, substantially scientific.
  a. More specifically by observation and comparison.
  b. Historico-philosoph. *vs.* ideology and empiricism.
2. Processes, in order of logical sequence.
  a. Discovering and verifying data.
  b. Interpretation, analysis and classification of same.
    a. Put into available form for use.
    b. Observe laws of perspective, etc., *vs.* cranks.
  c. Compare and mark differences and resemblances.

3. Social statistics necessary and prominent.
  a. Utility and limitations.
    a. Instruments to test or formulate theory.
    b. Limited by cost and impossibility of collecting.
  b. Collection to be valuable involves
    a. Sources and method of procuring.
    b. Authorities scrutinized, personal equation noted.
    c. Danger attending newspaper and partisan.
  c. Tabulated and graphic presentation of materials.
  d. Interpretation most vital and essential.
    a. Why figures *do lie* and the remedy.
    b. Effectual corrective to false logic or theory.
  e. Principles and rules for their use. (Dike.)
    a. Examine carefully implication of statements.
    b. Consider and allow for change of conditions.
    c. Beware of coincidences—*post hoc profter hoc.*
    d. Gross figures must be analyzed to elements.
    e. Ratios, justly calculated, basis of comparison.
  f. The cultivation of a statistical sense.
    a. Practical beginnings with easy examples.
    b. Methods, those of ordinary study and life.
  g. Even if sometimes fallacious, more mistakes are made without statistics than with them.

IV. Individual Biases to be Overcome. (Spencer.)
1. Educational, covering in general all others.
  a. Study of classics and Christianity sets up dual natures creating alternately egoism and altruism.
  b. High organism depends on destruction of lower.
  c. Counter effects of egoism and altruism.
    a. Self-destruction, war consumes bravest, leaving the feeblest to propagate its species.
    b. Strong militarygovernment checks individuality.
  d. Result—both sides necessary and to be harmonized.
    a. Should Christian code be modified to conditions?
    b. Centripetal and centrifugal make circular motion.
2. Bias of patriotism or antipatriotism.
  a. Subjective views not same as objective.
  b. Patriotism liable to distort facts.
  c. Comparisons dangerous as to experiments or corruption realized for first time.
  d. Self-depreciation results from reaction of too fulsome praise or deficient self-regard.
3. Political prevalent. (partisans, tactitians, papers.)

a. Fallacies fostered; primary and proximate causes.
  a. Results proportional to appliances.
  b. More laws the greater benefit to society.
  c. Circumlocution at times more effectual.
b. Assumptions—men as they are, laws may be better.
  a. Great genesis of formula apt to fail.
  b. Government can change only with society.

4. Professional of all characters (classes).
  a. Especially marked between labor and capital.
  b. Until laid aside, necessary to equipoise.
  c. Social evolution causes more or less class bias?
5. Theological or religious bias.
  a. Subordinates reason and ethics to sectarian formula and antiquated belief.
  b. Anti-theological equally detrimental—iconoclasm.
  c. Religious sentiment and belief may be modified.
  d. Humanitarian religion insufficient; divine concept fundamental for perfect character.
6. General bias distorts truth, special further aggravates.
  a. Amid conflict judgment must be guarded.
  b. Perverted opinion proportionally discounted to neutralize personal bias.

V. Difficulty in Collecting Social Data. (Spencer.)
1. Arising from intrinsic nature of facts.
  a. Examined scientifically only by comparison.
  b. Complex, covering great extent of time and place.
  c. Cardinal truths lay for ages unformulated.
2. Nature of man, as observer of facts.
  a. Biased observer and reasoner from prejudice.
  b. Safe observation requires special training.
  c. Calmness, judgment, philosophy *vs.* personal bent.
3. Peculiar relation between observer and facts.
  a. Must include self among data observed.
  b. To become impersonal is difficult to best.
  c. Even the social scientist can do so with difficulty.
4. Objective and subjective difficulties particularized.
  a. Evidence of observed facts even when critical.
    a. Incomplete, vitiated and contradictory.
    b. Now much more with passion and credulity.
  b. Intentional and innocent exaggeration frequent.
  c. Social optical illusion everywhere manifest.
  d. Phenomena and intellect may be reciprocal.
  e. Strong tendency to antomorphic interpretation.

Syllabus of Second Topic.

ORIGIN, NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

Bibliography: *Bascom*, Sociology, Social Theory; *Beaulieu*, the Modern State;* *Bluntschli*, The Theory of State;* *Brownson*, The American Republic; *Bryce*, American Commonwealth; *Burgess*, Political Science; *Carey*, Harmony of Interests; *Dawson*, State Socialism; *Ely*, Outline of Economics; Socialism and Social Reform; *Goodwin*, Political Justice; *Guyot*, Principles of Social Economics; *Guizot*, History of Civilization; *Hoffman*, Sphere of the State;* *Holland*, Jurisprudence;* *Jevons*, State in Relation to Labor; Social Reform; *Maine*, Early Institution; Ancient Law; *Mulford*, The Nation; *Ritchie*, Principles of State Interference; Natural Rights; *Schloss*, Industrial Remuneration; *Small* and *Vincent*, Introduction to Study of Society; *Spencer*, Principles of Sociology; *Sprague*, Socialism from Genesis to Revelations; *Sterrett*, Hegel's Ethics; *Wilson*, The State;* *Woolsey*, Political Science; *Encyclopedias; Review of Reviews* for current literature of the subject.

I. Origin of Government—Speculative Theories.
1. The patriarchal theory.
  a. Family the type of all government; first in time.
  b. Not sufficient to satisfy modern philosophy.
2. The theory of force (might makes right).
  a. Violent domination of the strong over weak.
  b. Historical? Often seen but not enduring.
  c. Elements of truth contained.
    a. Indispensable factor in all States.
    b. Might shown to be right by prevailing.
    c. It is the political legitimacy factor of Guizot.
3. Social contract theory. (Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau.)
  a. Neither historical nor logical; practically dangerous.
  b. Yet contains certain elements of truth.
  c. Benefit—helped revolution to oppose despotism.
4. State of nature theory.
  a. Philosophical speculation of a "golden age."
  b. What meant by "natural"—barbarism and war?
  c. Highest welfare demands society and government.
    a. Hence government is state of nature—God's plan.
5. The State a divine institution.
  a. Eminently true as to *essence* (government *per se*).
  b. Human *in form*, subject mainly to man's will.
  c. Evil misconceptions—theocracy, "divine right," etc.
6. Man's natural sociability and political consciousness.
  a. Social impulse in human nature natural.
  b. At first moves instinctively (passive dynamics).
  c. Active dynamics seen preëminently in *forms*.
  d. Certain truths in all false theories.
  e. State a necessary *good*, rather than an *evil*.

II. Ceremonial and Political Institutions. (Spencer.)
1. Ceremony in general.

a. Ceremony found among brutes and savages.
b. These primeval forms affect after regulations.
c. Custom no more volitional than "contract theory."
d. Others originated from natural sequence.

2. Political integration and differentiation.
a. Struggle for existence; determinants of integration.
b. Differentiation results from necessity.
c. Forces—public opinion (tradition, custom, belief).
d. Forms of government not matters of choice.
e. Government bodies and councils of ministers.
f. Militant and industrial types; distinctions.

3. For enlarged analysis see Topic X. of Syllabus II.

III. Nature of State, Government and Law.

1. State is an organic brotherhood.
a. Individual and organic unity of the race.
b. Essential characteristics: land and organized people.
a. Sovereignty, meaning and where residing.
b. Are rights inalienable, and in what sense?
c. Can there be equality, and if so, what?
c. What bases; birth, religion, geography?
d. End of the state, what?
e. Distinctions between state and nation?

2. Distinctions between state and government, etc.
a. Relation of these—latter agent of former.
b. Full citizenship, what and to whom belongs?
c. Suffrage a natural right or privilege granted?
d. Can government also have an end, and what?

3. Law and its distinctions—natural, statutory, etc.
a. Sources—custom, religion, equity, legislation.
b. Objects of law—discovery and protection of rights.
a. Rights, what? legal, moral, and abstract.
b. Duties and obligations, what.
c. Elements of right,—person, object, act, obligation.
c. Public *vs.* private law, *vs.* international law.

IV. Functions of Government in General.

1. Nature and classification.
a. Constituent, those essential for existence.
b. Ministrant, directly beneficial to society.
a. Regulating labor, trade and corporations.
b. Guaranteeing education, sanitation, employm't(?)
c. Supervising defectives, dependants delinquents.
c. Beaulieu's classes: security, determining rights.

2. Evolution and history of governmental functions.
a. Contrast of ancient, mediæval and modern.
b. Greater changes in conception than in practice.
c. Functions much the same but differently exercised.
d. Socialistic functions surpass social conception.

3. Limitations to state action—social *vs.* individual.
a. Society greater (more inclusive) than government.
a. Socialism *vs.* individualism (competitive system).
b. Middle ground that of safety.
b. Equalization of competitive privileges a duty.
c. Conditions must be taken into account.
a. Best régime for some states not for others.
b. Folly of imposing too many artificial forms.
d. Land and occupation are fundamental prerequisites.
a. Equal chance necessary to limit of the possible.
b. Now much farther dependent on conditions.
c. Such problems and solution object of study.

V. Socialistic Conceptions of Governmental Functions.

1. Destruction of state not generally advocated.
a. On contrary, they enlarge state activity.
a. Where state represses socialism, antagonism seen.
b. In England and United States functions enlarged.
b. All socialists want the democratic state. Why?
c. Swiss referendum and initiative best model.
a. Keeping government in hands of masses.
b. Preventing monopoly of land and capital.

2. Certain socialists claim they are decentralists.
a. Proportional representation gives individuals power.
b. Quotations from Fabians show (Ely, page 32).
a. They favor communalization. Is this possible?
b. Nationalists of United States an exception, yet they do not neglect municipalization, but advise it.
c. These temporary expedients are not ideals.

3. Many would reduce state action to a minimum.
a. Laissez-faire outside of economics and education.
a. State church strenuously objected to.
b. Hope for even administration *vs.* government.
b. Babel disposes of ministers, parliaments, standing armies, police, courts, attorneys, taxes.
a. How disposed of is not scientific to enquire. (?)
c. Bellamy rejects democracy in electing functionaries.

Syllabus of Third Topic.

SOCIAL DISCONTENT.

Bibliography: *Besant*, etc., The Poor in Great Cities; *Booth*, Life and Labor of People in London; Darkest England; *Brown*, Modern Socialism; *Carwardine*, Pullman Strike: *Cheney*, Third Revolution in Soc. Sci. Annals, 1892; *Crocker*, Cause of Hard Times; *Dawson*, Unearned Increment; *Dorchester*, Liquor Problem in all Ages;* *Drage*, The Unemployed; *Dugdale*, The Jukes; *Department of Labor* Reports; and Bulletins; *Ely*, Labor Movement in America; Problems of Today; *Engel*, Condition of English Working Classes; *Gaskell*, Artizans and Machinery; *Giffen*, Growth of Capital; *Gladden*, Work People and Employers; *Hill*, Principles and Fallacies; *Hobson*, Evolution of Modern Capitalism; *Howell*, Conflict of Labor and Capital; *Hyndman*, Commercial Crises of Nineteenth Century; *Kidd*, Social Evolution; *Newton*, Social Studies; *Nicholson*, Effect of Machinery on Wages;* *Rae*, How the Other Half Lives;* *Schulze-Gaevernitz*, Social Peace; *Smith*, Questions of Today; *Sprague*, Socialism from Gen. to Rev.; *Strike Commission*, Report on Chicago Strike; *Strong*, The New Era,* Our Country; *Sutter*, Colony of Mercy; *Taylor*, Modern Factory System; *Toynbee*, The Industrial Revolution; *Vaughan*, Questions of To-day: *Ward*, Ancient Lowly; *Wells*, Recent Economic Changes; *Almanacs* for statistics; *Census* Bulletins; Encyclopedias; *Poole's* and other Indexes for current magazine literature.

I. Manifestations of Unrest seen in

1. Combinations, strikes, violence, lockouts, etc.
   - a. Dreadful loss and waste to community.
     - *a.* Yearly 14 mills. to labor, 7 mills. to employers.
     - *b.* Assistance received one million, or 7 per cent.
   - b. Inconvenience to innocent society.
   - c. Danger of mob violence and civil war.
2. Grangers, farmers alliances and populism.
   - a. History, cause and importance of movements.
   - b. Special remedies for special evils justified.
3. Tramps and commonwealers (hobos).
   - a. Resulting from misfortunes and misdemeanors.
   - b. Revealing dangerous tendencies of Society.
   - c. Great care that it may not become chronic.
4. Poverty and wretchedness in great cities.
   - a. Crowded into unhealthy tenements.
   - b. Sweating system worse than negro slavery.
   - c. High civilization accompanied by deep degradation.
   - d. Workingmen improvident and intemperate.
5. Revolt against society, state and church.
   - a. Embittered by injustice or fancied injuries.
   - b. State upholding order is foolishly attacked.
   - c. Church unjustly maligned and contemned.
6. Socialistic indictment of modern society. (Brown.)
   - a. Composed of aristocracy, bourgeoise and proletariat.
     - *a.* In Europe of genteel blood; in America drones
     - *b.* Living from rent, profit, interest or robberies; those who do not are wage-workers.

   - c. The plundered slaves, those who really do the work and receive only part its worth.
   - b. Visions of hope from inventions unrealized.
     - *a.* Production multiplied manyfold, less reward.
     - *b.* Sewing machine enslaves underpaid work-women.
   - c. Capitalism the result of robbery, labor the victim.
     - *a.* Strong crushes weak; iron law of wages.
     - *b.* State and church combine with monopoly.
   - d. Land grabbing with increasing rent pilloried.

II. Causes Producing Unrest Leading to Socialism.

1. Industrial revolution.
   - a. Brought about by machinery and steam.
   - b. Driving out household industry by manufactories.
   - c. Monopoly apt to follow unless checked.
   - d. Over-production and commercial crises, poverty.
2. Increased wealth falling to certain classes.
   - a. Resulting from natural productivity of capital.
   - b. Free competition, if it exists, becomes unfair.
   - c. The poor are growing poorer only relatively.
   - d. Statistics of Wells, Mulhall and Giffen.
3. Quickened social and political self-consciousness.
   - a. Popular intelligence result of printing press, etc.
   - b. Disseminated knowledge spreads democracy.
   - c. Consciousness of power will not lie dormant.
4. Labor made impersonal separating labor and capital.
   - a. Necessary result of modern factory system.
   - b. Widening breach and setting up class bias.
   - c. Wicked selfishness counteracts Christian influence.
5. Unjust legislation aggravating natural inequality.
   - a. Power, money and influence used selfishly.
   - b. Seeking relief through destruction is delusive.
6. Self-seeking labor leaders exploit their followers.
   - a. Oppress their followers by abuse of power.
   - b. Raising false hopes for sake of gain.
   - c. Setting back possible reform for decades.

III. Whose Fault is it that Conflict Exists?

1. Partly due to the *laborers* themselves.
   - a. Being improvident and lacking thrift.
   - b. Intemperance a great factor.
   - c. Inability to successfully organize or combine.
2. It is also the fault of *capital*.
   - a. Selfishly and unwisely ignoring labor's rights.

b. Might greatly help all by sharing profits.
3. The *Consumer* is not without fault.
a. Greed seen in demanding lowest prices.
b. Manifestations of extravagance and luxury.
4. Mistaken *philanthropy* fails to mitigate.
a. By employment of false methods.
b. Maudlin sentimentality encourages pauperism, etc.
c. Would-be reformers use unwise criticisms.
5. *Society* in general is mainly culpable.
a. Failing to demand better government.
b. Individual liberty for evil is license.
c. Support false economic theory for partisan gains.
6. The *church* and the pulpit.
a. Lacks practical religious sympathy.
b. Offering rewards only after death.
c. Controlled by money, influence, individualism.

IV. SIGNIFICANCE—"TIMES ARE OUT OF JOINT!"
1. Are we growing worse? What says history?
a. Rather that competition is everywhere sharper.
a. Gives faster gait, hard on the "unfit."
b. Civilization handicaps *unskilled* forces.
b. Discontent not necessarily bad, implies aspirations.
a. Contented people generally non-progressive.
b. But discontent must be within limitations.
c. Wants and unrest precursors of progress.
2. The growing self-consciousness thereby emphasized.
a. In republics discontented people beneficially felt.
b. Same line of movement in all revolutions.
3. Economic conditions largely determine man's status.
a. External effecting the social and religious.
b. Not to the exclusion of man's volition, however.
4. Not likely to be temporary or ever cease.
a. Far reaching changes needed, hence aspirations.
b. Better adjusted social organization of individuals.
c. Highest ultimate element is christianization.
5. Vulnerability of highly developed materialistic society
a. Dynamite ineffectual against the immaterial.
a. Even little effect upon country districts.
b. The bomb dreaded mainly in compact society.
b. Destruction of railroad bridges, gas mains and palaces of justice would annihilate cities.

Syllabus of Fourth Topic.

DEFINITION, ELEMENTS, MISAPPREHENSIONS, IMPORTANCE.

Bibliography: *Aveling*, Students' Marx; *Bax*, Ethics of Socialism; Religion of Socialism; *Behrends*, Socialism and Christianity; *Brown*, Modern Socialism; *Clark* in Pol. Sci. Quart. 1888; *Cossa*, Study of Pol. Econ.; *Ely*, Socialism and Social Reform;* French and German Socialism; *Engels*, Socialism Utopian and Scientific; *Fabian* Essays and Tracts; *Graham*, Socialism, Old and New; *Kidd*, Social Evolution; *Kirkup*, Inquiry into Socialism; History of Socialism;* *Lafargue*, Evolution of Property; *Laveleye*, Progress of Socialism in Contemp. Rev. 1883; *Naquet*, Collectivism and Socialism; *Marx*, Capital; *Rae*, Contemporary Socialism;* *Robertson* et al.—Plea for Liberty; *Sprague*, Soc. from Gen. to Rev.; *Woolsey*, Communism and Socialism; Encyclopedias and Magazine articles for current literature of the subjects.

I. DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS. (Ely.)
1. Necessity and advantages of clear definitions.
a. No progress in scientific investigation without.
b. Prevents misapprehensions and misleading.
c. Arrived at by exclusion and inclusion.
2. Too general and indefinite, hence worthless.
a. So abstract or vague to be meaningless.
a. Marx—"Absolute dependence of man on matter."
b. Proudhon—"Every aspiration toward improvem't.
b. Too concreted without general principles.
a. "Free land, free tools, free money."
b. "Every man according to his work or need."
3. Various others more enlarged by non-socialists.
a. Cairnes in his Political Economy, page 316.
b. Mill, in his autobiography, page 231.
c. Rae, in Contemp. Soc. Introduction, page 6.
d. Schäffle, in "Quintessence" (Ely, page 20).
e. Wagner, quoted by Ely, page 21.
f. Brown, in "Modern Socialism," page 22.
4. Other definitions by avowed socialists.
a. Kirkup, in "An Inquiry into Socialism," page 11.
b. Fabians—Shaw, Clarke, Wallas.
c. Social democratic Federation of England.
d. Lafargue interpreting Marx's thought.
e. German Socialism is a method of solution.
f. Lassalle—"Distribution of property by society."
5. Distinctions that must be carefully made.
a. Between communism and socialism.
b. Between nationalism and socialism.
c. Between anarchy and socialism (Kirkup).
d. Between socialism and "Christian" socialism.
e. Between socialism and "scientific" socialism.

f. Between socialism and social reform.
g. Between *social* and *socialistic*.

II. Elements as Formulated Mainly by Ely.
1. Common ownership of productive instruments
a. Absorbing rent and interest.
b. Substantially all land and capital.
c. Wealth not capital may be held by individuals.
2. Common management of production.
a. Profits from same to fall to society.
b. Public weal first as against private gain.
c. Furnishing employment and increasing hope.
3. Distribution regulated by common authority.
a. Making provision for the helpless.
b. Two Schools; according to need or productivity.
c. Certain specific schemes advocated.
a. Mechanical equality (in quantity and kind).
b. Assignment proportional to needs (St. Simon).
c. Reward proportional to merit—hierarchy.
d. Equality of income *vs*. mechanical (*a*).
4. Private income in increased proportion.
a. By largely increasing common use.
b. Still for most part wealth (not capital) private.
5. These changes brought about by social revolution.
a. Class legislating state should be destroyed.
b. Rights given masses by social democracy.
c. Various classes—conservative and radical.
a. In Germany opposing the state by revolution.
b. In England less radical, being evolutionary.
6. Sprague's postulates of socialism.
a. Labor is the source of all value.
b. Private capital is social crime.
c. Rich are growing richer and poor poorer.
d. Wages fall to a bare subsistence.
e. Public ownership and control of capital.

III. Misapprehensions as to its Nature.
1. Socialism does not necessarily imply extremes.
a. Early dreamers' utopian schemes or experiments.
b. Non-Christian socialism of to-day.
c. So-called scientific phase (Kathedars) excluded.
d. Being a specific plan of distinct elements.
2. Is not division of all property.
a. This would be more nearly communism.
b. Refuting which would not refute socialism.
a. Extreme subdivision might destroy usefulness.

b. If distributed would, under competition, soon fall again into same hands, so of doubtful utility.
c. Workingman's bill of rights impracticable.
a. Rights of work, receive help and live.
b. Right to his whole labor's earnings.
c. Right to seek employment differs from to work.
3. Not a scheme of robbers, criminals, etc.
a. Commune of Paris (1871) not communism.
b. Should not include nihilists or anarchists.
4. Not necessarily hostile to the family.
a. This more chargable to communism.
b. Present industrial system disrupts family.
c. Abuse of any system not chargeable to system.

IV. Importance and Growth of Socialism.
1. In kingdom of Belgium (1876–94).
a. Began in Dr. Paeps's co-operative societies (1876).
b. Ended in revolution (electoral) of 1894.
a. In chamber of 152, Socialists-Rads. elect 29.
b. Catholics gain (3 to 1) at expense of liberals.
2. For gain in Germany see Ely's Appendix.
a. Votes 1871, '84, '90, '93: 3, 10, 20, 23 per cent.
b. Largest of great parties since 1890–93.
c. 31 dailies, 41 weeklies, 55 trade journals.
3. Socialistic parties in France (see Ely).
a. Increased seven-fold from 1889 to 1893.
b. No senators but 53 deputies in chamber.
c. Five schools aggregating 900,000 electors (1894).
d. Great papers (Rochfort's and Millerand's).
e. Municipalities and students deeply affected.
4. English manifestation as yet in organization.
a. Fabian social democratic federation, etc.
b. Practical municipalization in London.
a. Though generally governed by parliament.
b. Telegraph, city railways, artizans' dwellings.
c. Revival of trade unions; literary propaganda.
5. Socialistic movement in United States.
a. Early attempts (communistic) practically failures.
b. Bellamy in 1888 and later nationalism.
c. Recent federation of labor (93–95) see platforms.
d. Growth of Socialistic vote marked (see Almanacs).
e. Invading pulpits and college classes.
6. Movement of such dimensions cannot be ignored.
a. The social problem exists and will not down.
b. Worthy of a just and thorough investigation.

Syllabus of Fifth Topic.

EARLY HISTORIC PHASES, MOSTLY COMMUNISTIC.

Bibliography: *Behrends*, Socialism and Christianity;* *Bernstein*, Lassalle as a Social Reformer; *Booth*, Saint-Simon and St. Simonism; Owen, Founder of Socialism in England; *Borgeaud*, Rise of Modern Democracy; *Codman*, Brook Farm; *Cohn*, History of Political Economy; *Cossa*, Study of Political Economy; *Dawson*, German Socialism; *Ely*, French and German Socialism;* *Engel*, Socialism Utopian and Scientific; *Gilman*, Socialism and American Spirit; *Goodwin*, Political Justice; *Graham*, Socialism, Old and New; *Grammage*, History of Chartist Movement; *Hawthorne*, Note Book; *Holyoke*, History of Rochdale Pioneers; *Hyndman*, Historic Basis of Socialism in England; *Jones*, Life, etc., of Robt. Owen; *Kirkup*, History of Socialism;* *Mill*, Socialism; *New Harmony* Gazette; *Nordhoff*, Communistic Societies;* *Noyes*, History of American Socialism;* *Plato*, Republic; *Rae*, Contemporary Socialism;* *Sargeant*, Owen and his Social Philosophy; *Shaw*, Icaria; *Sprague*, Socialism from Genesis to Revelations; *Thompson*, Principles of Distribution of Wealth; *Webb*, Socialism in England; *Woolsey*, Communism and Socialism; Encyclopedias and Magazines for Current Literature.

I. Early Conceptions and Wild Theories.

1. Plato's "Republic," 429–348, B. C.
   a. Is it a serious project or only romance?
   b. Government by philosophers, community of everything; equality of sex, education and occupation.
2. Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," 1480–1535; etc.
   a. Latin edition (1516); frequently translated.
   b. Bacon's "New Atlantis," 1561–1626.
   c. Hall's "*Mundus Altre et Idem*," 1574–1656.
   d. Harrington's "Commonwealth of Oceana" (1656).
3. Thomas Campanella's "City of the Sun." (1623.)
   a. Dominican monk, uses monastery as type.
   b. Community of property and wives, as Plato.
   c. Hierarchy of philosophers rule the state.
   d. Arts common to sex; homes changed half yearly.
   e. Distribution to *needs*—vows frugality and poverty.
4. Gabriel Mably, 1709–85; misapprehended anc. repubs.
   a. Wrote many historic and communistic works, etc.
   b. Ludicrous ideas as to republics then prevailed.
5. John Jaques Rousseau, 1712–1778, "Social Contract."
   a. Matchless style, instincts to liberty, lacked morality.
   b. Unhistoric, illogical, but useful against absolutism.
   c. Product of long evolution; now extinct (Borgeaud).
6. André Morrelly, 1727–1809, abbe and economist.
   a. "Basiliade" in 1753, "Code of Nature" in 1755.
   b. Happiness secured to all by equality.
7. Brissot, 1754–1793, leader of Girondists (Brissotins).
   a. Founded "Society of Friends of Negroes," 1788.
   b. Edited "Patriot Francais," republican at Paris.
   c. Prominent member of National Assembly, 1791.

II. Early French Phases beginning with Revolution.

1. Babeuf, 1764–1797, guillotined by Directory.
   a. Conspirator, "Manifesto of Equals," April, 1796.
   b. Developed largely Morrelly's Code of Nature.
   c. Government absolute, "Charter of Equality" for all.
      a. Measured by need, guillotine superfluous.
      b. Perish the arts but save equality.
2. St. Simon, 1760–1825, rich count; publicist.
   a. Fragmentary, did much to suggest "Comtism."
   b. Central thought antagonism and association.
   c. Experiments at Paris, etc., failed in 1832.
3. Fourier, 1772–37, optimistic, altruistic, humanitarian.
   a. "Theory of four movements," somewhat atheistic.
   b. Social system, subsequently experimented in Am.
      a. Law of attraction is fundamental social principle, social clusters formed by free elective affinity.
      b. Scheme of organization—phalange the social unit.
         (1) Groups form series, these form phalange.
         (2) Officials elective; world organism.
      c. Benefits from proportional economic distribution.
         (1) $\frac{8}{12}$ to talent, $\frac{4}{12}$ to capital, $\frac{5}{12}$ to labor.
         (2) Labor classified—hard, useful, pleasant.
   c. Criticism; ingenious and elaborate, but huge Utopia.
      a. Disregards selfishness, giving free rein to egotism.
      b. Not "movement from chaos to order," but *vice versa*.
      c. Not best all capital socialized, only regulated.
4. Cabet, 1788–1856; commune in Texas, '46; broke, '57.
   a. "Voyage in Icaria" embodied his theory (1840).
   b. Scheme, universal brotherhood and equality of all.
      a. Marriage essential, children at school till 16.
      b. Careers by choice, men and women short hours.
      c. Ideal government is democratic republic—absolute authority, community of property, and social control of individual.
5. Proudhon, 1809–65, representative from Bacancon, '47.
   a. Writings: Property, Justice, Phil. of Wretched.
   b. Theories based on spontaneous force of moral ideas.
   c. Effects: lays the foundation of modern anarchy.
6. Louis Blanc, 1811-1882, Madrid, educated in France.
   a. Politician, exiled 20 years, assemblyman, writer.
   b. Theory and practice, extend not destroy functions
      a. Condition dominated by socialized workshops.
      b. Established, 1848; failed from lack of sympathy.

c. Socialism and reform much akin to German.
c. Came nearest social reform of all French theories.
7. Classification—Not Utopias but realistic schemes.
a. Babeuf and Proudhon radical and anarchistic, latter not as much as former but yet contributory.
b. Cabet and Fourier attempted to establish their schemes but failed; were liberalists.
c. St. Simon sought relief in religion of humanity, authoritarian, breaking down capital as feudalistic.
d. Blanc as social reformer, used state to correct evils, checking individualism by national workshops.

II. Early German Phases, 1789-1860.
1. Fichte, 1762-1814, "Closed Commercial State," 1801.
a. State closed against foreigners—very protective.
b. Protect persons and property, assure commonweal.
c. General principle, all have right to live comfortably.
2. Weitling, Swiss leader, similar to Cabet.
a. No state, church property, rank; absolute equality.
b. Wealth necessary to develop human personality.
c. Proletariat mob of brigands to desolate Europe.
3. Young Hegelians.
a. Hegel's idealism bred humanism, this bred socialism.
b. Materialism—"Man is what he eats."
c. Feuerbach passed through Comte's three epochs.
a. *God*, *Reason*, *Man*, to materialistic anthropology.
b. "Religion of Future" popular with communists.
4. Rodbertus, 1805-1875. Prussian Assembly (1848).
a. Faith in long evolution, eschewed political action.
b. Held labor source of value, wages not from capital.
c. "Iron law of wages" gave capital great advantages.
d. Stages: slavery, feudality, capitalism, socialism.
e. Differed little from Marks in theory, only in method.
a. Economic criticism led to important changes.
b. Affected Wagner and modern economists.
5. Marlo, 1810-1856, Winkelblech, Prof. of Technology.
a. Travelled, noted misery, wrote "Organiz. of Labor.
b. Neglected but brought to attention by Schäffle.
c. Differs from Socialists, views society as whole.
a. Fault rather underproduction than distribution.
b. Lays stress on Malthusianism, others neglect it.
6. Marx, 1818-1883, Communistic party manifesto (1848).
a. Many later works falling under next topic.
b. Hegelian evolutionist plus agent of proletariat.

c. Third estate eliminated leaving only millionaires and paupers, no middle class.
d. Promoted in workingmen self-conscious social power
a. Open *vs.* secret propaganda of revolution.
b. First International League manifesto in 1847.
(1.) Land, inheritance, property expropriated.
(2.) Credit, transportation, production socialized.
(3.) Equality of labor; town and country mingled.
e. Marx laid economic basis of Socialism.
7. Lassalle, 1825-1864, apostle of political socialism.
a. Gathered material from all, Blanc, Rodbertus, Marx.
b. Views given in "System of acquired rights" (1861).
c. Workingmen's program (1862), Hegelian evolution.
a. Bourgeoisie 1789-1848; since then working class.
b. Steps—liberty, learning, property, transformation.
d. Ricardian law of wages used as appeal.
e. Was rather a national than international socialist.

IV. Early English Forms of Second Period.
1. Robert Owen, 1771–1858. Born in North Wales.
a. Manager of cotton mill, Manchester, first in Engl'nd.
a. Married 1800, settled at New Lanark, Glascow.
b. Strove to ameliorate condition of workmen.
b. New firm, 1813; basis of scheme and principles.
a. Founded infant school to educate young.
b. Continued educational scheme with work-people.
c. Religious views; materialistic, character by environ.
d. His espousal of Socialism, 1817.
a. Through deplorable condition of workmen.
b. Labor forced to compete with machinery.
e. Scheme for establishing communities at Glascow.
f. Establishment of equitable labor exchanges.
2. Chartism, 1832-50, protest against middle-class gov't.
a. Followed French revolution (1830) with same effect.
a. Caused by suffering of working classes.
b. "Surplus value" enunciated by its organs.
c. Capital robs labor giving to king and priest.
b. Demand of "People's charter," 1838.
a. Male suffrage, equal representation, vote by ballot.
b. Annual parliaments—salaried members.
c. Effects resulting from the quasi-revolution.
a. Excited alarm, aroused opposition by state.
b. Meetings fired on, leaders imprison'd, demands *nil*.
c. Parliamentary reform followed; corn-laws 1846-49.

3. "Christian" Socialists, better "Sociologists." (1850-55.)
   a. Leaders; Maurice, 1805–72; Kingsley, 1819–75.
   b. Attacked Manchester school (Cobden) with fury.
      a. Maurice: "fatal to intellect, morality, freedom."
      b. Kingsley: "narrow, conceited, anarchic, atheist."
   c. Condemned present industrial system generally.
      a. Being unchristian, must result in social disorder.
      b. Materialistic Parisian Revolution must follow.
      c. Christian Soc. germ of highest civilization.
   d. Workman's organiz'd society (co-operat'n, educa'n.)
      a. Peculiar distinguishing characteristics of plan.
         (1.) Futility of external changes, character vital.
         (2.) Property left untouched, state not to interfere.
      b. Self-help emphasized as sufficient remedy.
         (1.) Hughes said, "This solves the labor problem."
         (2.) Gave strong impetus to co-operation.
   e. Results, 41 associations when journal stopped 1855.
   f. Motives never questioned as in Germany.
      a. Political clergy generally unpopular and risky.
      b. Here no personal gain, political or ecclesiastic.
   g. Later German phase, etc., treated in next topic.

V. Early Phases in the United States.

1. Classification as given by McDonald in Noyes.
   a. Religious—this the secret of permanency.
      a. Ephrata (Beizel), 1713, money at interest.
      b. Shakers, 1794, existing 18, many wealthy.
      c. Rapp's very wealthy still existing after 70 years.
      d. Others: Dunkers, Moravians, Zoarites, Oneidas, Amanas, Ebenezers, Snowbergers, Jansons, etc. (see Noyes for extended details).
   b. Non-religious: Foreign (6), Owens (4), Fourierism.
2. New Harmony (Rappites) before Owens. (1805-24.)
   a. Saparatrists: Geo. and Mich. Rapp non-conformists.
   b. Religious views: Millinarian, celibate, communistic.
   c. Persecuted in Pa. located 5,000 acres in 1805.
      a. Cash and chattels: obedience to Rapp.
      b. Religion, education and sustenance guaranteed
      c. Money refunded on withdrawal (abrogated later.
3. Owens' Communistic Society succeeded Rapps (1824
   a. Leading principles of this society.
      a. Equality, freedom of speech and action.
      b. Co-operation, business, amusement, order, law.

      c. Health, economy, acquisition of knowledge.
   b. Characteristic doctrines.
      a. Man's character formed for, not by him.
      b. All members of human race possess same rights.
      c. Co-operation is indispensable for mutual welfare.
   c. Reason of its failure within 3 years (1824–27).
      a. Not suited to conditions, men selfish.
      b Quarrels of leaders broke it up.
   d. Importance, 900 members, 2,000 acres; $150,000.
4. Fourierism (1841–57) semi-religious.
   a. Organized at Brook Farm, near Boston, 1844-46.
      a. By Hawthorn, Ripley, Fuller, Parker, Greeley.
      b. Most notable experiments in United States.
   b. Thirty-four phalanges established, members 8,641.
      a. Hopedale (Mass.), 200 members, lived 18 years.
      b. North Am. (N. J.), 112 members, lived 12 years.
      c. Clarkson (N. Y.), 420 members, lived 6 years.
      d. Most of the others died in infancy.
         (1.) Twelve in less than one year.
         (2.) Two lived one year; four less than two.
   c. Fourierism practically collapsed in 1846.
5. Causes of failure as uttered by themselves.
   a. Noyes—"General depravity, villain of whole story."
   b. Macdonald—"Imagined humanity better than is."
   c. Owen—"Wanted honesty, temperance, cleanliness; got dishonesty, intemperance and dirt."
   d. Nashoba—"Not success unless superior being."
   e. Haverstraw—"Dishonesty of managers."
   f. Coxsackie—"Too much law making, too little work.
   g. Warren—"The want of common honesty."
   h. Ballow—"Timber not suited for building."
   i. Northampton—"Want of harmony and sacrifice."
   j. Collins—"Could not be carried out in practice."
   k. Greeley—Brook Farm most harmonious but his invective was: "Conceited, crotchety, selfish, headstrong, pugnacious, the played out, the idle and good-for-nothing, destitute of means, ability and sense, tact and prudence—these clutch at responsible positions," etc.
6. One fundamental, natural impediment to success.
   a. Associated industrial life may not necessarily disrupt the family, but history shows that it always affects and questions the home.

Syllabus of Sixth Topic.

RECENT MODERN PHASES, 1860–95.

Bibliography: *Aveling*, Students' Marx: *Barry*, Christianity and Socialism; *Bax*, Religion of Socialism; *Bebel*, Women and Socialism; *Bellamy*, Looking Backward; *Behrends*, Socialism and Christianity;* *Bernstein*, Ferd, Lassalle; *Bliss*, Hand-Book of Socialism; *Brentano*, Origin of Trade-Unions; *Brown*, Modern Socialism; *Ely*, French and German Socialism;* *Engel*, Socialism Utopian and Scientific; *Fabians*, Essays, etc.; *George*, Progress and Poverty; *Graham*, Socialism Old and New; *Gronlund*, Co-operative Commonwealth; *Hyndman*, Crises in 19th Century; *Kirkup*, History of Socialism;* *Laveleye*, Socialism of To-day; *Lowe*, Bismark; *Mallock*, Property and Progress; Social Equality; *Marx*, Capital; *Owen*, Socialism in England; *Rae*, Contemporary Soc.; Eight Hours for Work; *Richter* in Rev. of Rev. May, 1893; *Ritchie*, Principles of State Interference;* *Schäffle*, Quintessence of Socialism;* *Schultze*, Social Peace; Trade Union Movement in England; *Spencer*, Plea for Liberty; *Sprague*, Soc. from Gen. to Rev.;* *Stephens*, Lib. Equal. and Frat; *Stuckenberg*, Christian Socialism; *Sumner*, What the Classes Owe Each Other; *Ward*, Ancient Lowly; *Webb*, Socialism in England; History of Trade-Unionism; *Woolsey*, Communism and Soc.; Encyclopedias; Magazines for current literature of Subjects.

I. General Classification of Communes and Socialism.

1. Ideals, Utopias, Fiction, etc.
   a. Plato's Republic—Cicero's Commonwealth.
   b. Hebrew Bible, More's Utopia, etc.
2. Non-political, experimental, local, voluntary.
   a. Saint Simonism, Owenism, Fourierism.
   b. Blancism—Social reform by State help.
   c. Proudhon, Bakunin, revolutionary, anarchistic.
3. Political, revolutionary Social Democracy.
   a. Which is Socialism par excellence of to-day.
   b. From which many parties must be differentiated.
   c. Very distinct from Kirkup's "purified" socialism.

II. Political Socialism most powerful in Germany.

1. Result of Hegelian speculative philosophy.
   a. Marx first developing it into socialism.
      a. Its basis laid in Economics of "Das Kapital."
      b. Which produced little effect in England.
   b. Aided by humanist philosophy of Feuerbach.
2. Needed political conditions to vivify it.
   a. Effective agitation of its apostle, Lassalle.
   b. Increased suffrage (1866); return of 1848ers.
3. Contrasted greatly with French Utopian Communism.
   a. No thought of putting into immediate operation.
   b. Must first destroy existing institutions.
      a. Developing specific systems aroused dissentions.
      b. Masses rally best around flag of negation.
   c. Must result from revolution, not evolution (Ref.).
4. Marr's young Germans in Switzerland abetted.
   a. Furthering propaganda by secret societies.
   b. Password—challenge, "human?" reply, "ität."

5. Central tenets advocated since 1848–60.
   a. Industry directed by co-operative communism.
   b. Politics controlled by international Republic.
   c. Atheistic humanism in religion, (Bax in Laveleye.)
   d. Negations widely espoused by leaders—
      a. Regards voluntary communism as lunacy.
      b. Sneers at Christian socialism (not at Christ).
      c. Denounces trade-unionism aristocracy of labor.
      d. Hates Church for its acts and teaching.
6. Protests against competitive society. (assumptions.)
   a. Workman produces value, should get whole prod.
   b. Capital despoils labor; gov't plutocratic tyranny.
   c. Its function: secure labor's reward, prevent crises.
   d. Land and productive instruments socialized.
      b. Either a centralized state by some, or
      b. Society made of voluntary communes (Marx).
      e. Definite international political issue.
      a. Party agitation and propaganda the means.
      b. State and church only surrender when forced.
7. Other leading doctrines of these Socialists.
   a. Man's dependence on matter for earthly existance.
      a. Neglecting incapacity, idleness and interference.
      b. Manufacturing a political millennium, instead of striving for individual reformation.
         (1.) Strange alliance between materialism and Socialism, worthy of remark.
         (2.) Socialism hence Darwinian biological "Survival of the fittest."
   b. Return to state of nature (common holdings).
      a. Not only unhistorical but anti-historical.
      b. Revolutionary not remedial. (Maine anc't law.)
   c. Rich growing richer and poor growing poorer.
   d. Function of State to solve economic problems.
   e. Energy producing wealth should control.
8. Growth in England and U. S. compared with others.
   a. In proportion to liberty and prosperity.
   b. Dependent on self-consciousness *vs.* ignorance.
   c. National wants (conservative) liberty *vs.* equality.
   d. Possible work of few—manifestoes and bombs.
      a. Bright's utterances. (Mallock's Prop. and Prog.
      b. Prophecy of Macaulay. (Mob legislature N. Y.)
   c. Criticism must show error or follow argument.
      a. Scientific analysis a prerequisite to criticism.
      b. The following institutions are not socialism:
         (1.) Trade unions—Internat. workingmen's ass'n.

(2.) Christian and Scientific Socialism.
(3.) Populism, Nationalism or Social Democ.
c. These may be contributory, but Socialism has different and more specific content.

III. Trade-Unions, unit of International.
1. History. (Legal in Eng. 1824, Charter 1871) (Webb.)
a. Previous repression and persecution everywhere.
b. Different from craft-guilds of 14th century.
c. Began actively early in eighteenth century.
a. Caused by economic evolution, not machinery.
b. Workingmen made dependent on employers.
d. Seen in hand-labor trades before factory system.
e. Woolen workers appealed to king and commons.
f. Revolutionary period (1829–42) till Chartism.
g. Trade-union congress of 1871 and later.
i. Membership—Eng. (1892)—1,500,000, 20 per ct.
2. Folly and tyranny, likely to be corrected.
a. Badly advised by selfish leaders;
a. Strikes and boycotts, unjustified and hurtful.
b. Setting back benefits by wicked violence.
b. False claims impossible to realize.
a. Cannot make wages equal.
b. Cannot usurp place of employers.
3. Advantages.
a. Educating—organization for mutual protection.
b. If not better wages, holding what they get.
c. Specific end may fail still strikes not futile.
d. Opinion, courts justify strikes without violence.
4. Classified organizations in United States.
a. Am. Federation of Labor—(Gompers, president.)
a. 80 national organizations of 7,000 unions.
b. Aggregate membership over 650,000.
b. Knights of Labor. (Sovereign, Grand Master.)
a. Claims membership of 200,000.
b. IndependentKnights organized, Columbus, '95.
c. Not affiliated with Federation, (local and state.)
c. American Railway Union, organized 1893, (Debs.)
d. Others, some of which affiliated with Federation:
a. Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, 60,000.
b. Association of Iron and Steel Workers, 40,000.
c. International Typographical Union, 40,000.
d. Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 30,000.
5. Sample platform. (see Ely's Appendix VIII.)
a. National Issues:
a. No national banks but greenbacks; postal sav's.

b. No alien land-ownership nor stock-gambling.
c. President, V. P. and Senators by direct election.
d. Gov't ownership of transportation etc.
e. Reformed judiciary; indirect taxes abolished.
f. Contract System of public works abolished.
g. Eight hour law; equal pay for women.
i. Direct initiative and referendum.
b. State Issues.
a. Abolition of capital punishment and prisons.
b. Sanitation of mines, factories and dwellings.
c. Taxation of land irrespective of improvements.
d. Wages paid in lawful money *vs.* truck system.
c. Municipal Issues:
a. Offices divorced from politics; civil service.
b. Municipalization of lights, railways, franchises.
c. Eight hours; no contractors; weekly wages.
d. Revision and simplification of code and salaries.
6. Conclusions respecting trade-unions.
a. Object commendable, danger of excesses.
b. Demanding not socialism—but social reform.

IV. International Workingmen's Association, 1864–72.
1. History (French impulse of London Exhibition '52.)
a. London, '64, Marx's address and statutes prevailed.
a. Paris League 1836; London Communistic, 1847.
b. Marx and Engels' manifesto of 1848. (Kirkup.)
b. Geneva, 1866—Strikes, 8 hours, women's work.
c. Lausanne, 1867—Compulsory education, 5th Estate possible otherwise.
d. Brussels, 1868—radical, strikes, no army or church.
e. Basle, 1869—Abolish inheritance; split in 1872, caused by Paris Commune and Bakunin. (Rae.)
f. Later Socialistic conferences: Ghent '77, Paris '89.
2. Influence of Marx on its theories.
a. Wrote, inspired or revived its manifestoes.
b. Platform of Bakunin rejected at Genoa, 1866.
c. Same meeting accepted Marx's program '64–'72.
a. Labor source of wealth (socially created).
b. Capitalistic monopoly makes labor white slaves.
c. Liberation by total change of compet. system.
d. This accomplished by the fourth estate.
3. Difficulties of formulating an international scheme.
a. Varied conditions necessitated modified means.
a. Caused split between Marx and Bakunin.
b. Strength of Governments had to be reckoned.
b. English revolted from revolutionary methods.

c. In France interference was powerless.
a. Great check from Paris Commune (1870).
b. Association defended the Communists.
c. Marx's pamphlet published by London Council.
4. Practical results before and after split.
a. Aided bronze workers' strike in Paris, 1867.
b. English money sent builders' strike Geneva 1868.
c. In England prevented workmen from Continent.
d. Started government projects to benefit labor.
a. Swiss, 1889—International conference on labor.
b. Germany, 1890—Beneficial stimulus to protect.

V. Social Democracy or National Socialism.
1. In Germany, began in 1869.
a. History. (Outgrowth from workingmen's unions.)
a. Federation of German unions 1863.
b. Lassalle's death '64, Uni'd Work. Assn. had 4,610.
c. Congress of Nuremberg, '68, adhered to Intern.
d. Congress of Eisenach 1869 founded Soc. Dem.
b. Growth, see Ely's Appendix IX in Socialism.
a. Franco-German war 1870–71, almost destroyed it.
b. 1871, vote 124,655, members 2, per cent. 3.
c. 1893 vote 1,876,738, members 44, per cent. 23.
c. Erfurt program of 1891; see Ely for data.
a. Universal direct ballot, proportional represent.
b. Militia for army; free meeting and opinion.
c. Church and religion made private associations.
d. Secularization of education, compulsory attend.
e. Free legal administration and medical aid.
f. Income and property taxes, direct taxes only.
g. Larger demands for protection of labor.
d. Program only temporary, fundamental propositions.
a. Private ownership of productive means.
b. Emancipation achieved by working class alone
c. Achieved through these taking political power.
e. Their interest identical in all lands.
e. Incorporating essentials of modern Socialism.
2. Socialism (so-called) in England.
a. Joint manifesto of Socialist bodies (Ely).
a. Growth manifest—differences but partly agreed.
b. Propaganda of 12 years changes attitude.
c. Incapacity of capitalists without social injury.
(1.) Even Giffen desires something like revolu.
(2.) Booth's investigation justify some change.
(3.) English home life infected by factory cruelty.
d. End—Community ownership of transport.

(1.) Education as a means, not anarchy.
(2.) Temporary measures by practical politics.
(a.) Equal wages; eight hours; no child labor.
(b.) Minimum wages, no sweating system.
(c.) Universal suffrage, public service paid.
e. Not solutions, but to lessen competitive *régime*.
f. More radical measures later—socialization, etc.
b. Program of Social Democratic Federation, 1893.
a. Object—Socialization general by democ. state.
(1.) Emancipation of labor from capital, etc.
(2.) Social and economic equality of sexes.
b. Program of Conference held at Burnley.
(1.) Election, legislation practically pure dem.
(2.) No standing army; all education compulsory, secular; and justice gratuitious.
(3.) Land, production, etc. common property.
c. Certain palliatives to correct present evils.
(1.) Much the same as radical socialism.
(2.) Including repudiation; disestablishment.
3. Socialististic parties in France.
a. Parties (53 deputies, vote 473,241 in 1893).
a. Possibilists, labor party; Broussists, etc.
b. Collectivists (Marxists or Guesdists).
c. Blanquists, (revolutionists) Socialists and Com.
d. Independents, headed by Millerand, Jaures, etc.
e. Radicals such as Goblet (Hardly Socialists).
b. Program (Broussists in Paris, Collectivists in prov.
a. Revolution political power, destroy capital.
b. Direct government to replace parliamentary.
c. Army abolished, militia take its place.
d. Church property confiscated, no appropriations.
e. Progressive tax, credit nationalized, work given.
f. Elective judges, courts free, all jury cases.
g. Representatives must follow instructions.
h. Income and capital taxed, old age pensions.
c. Peculiarities of principles espoused.
a. Revolutionary, class lines and struggles marked.
b. Capital must be conquered in Socialistic battle.
c. Written platforms avoided, Collectivism enough.
d. Temporary relief, Eight hours, salaries regulated.
4. In United States. (See Ely's Appendix.)
a. Recent gain in vote. (See Almanacs, etc.)
b. Platform at Chicago Convention, 1893.
a. Labor robbed of its product—white slaves.
b. Cause by private ownership of capital.

c. Co-operative commonwealth *vs.* industrial war.
d. Workmen united to gain political power.
c. Temporary legislative reforms demanded:
a. Social, 15 counts, covering well known ground.
b. Political, 6 counts, in conformity with Europe.
5. These parties are the best exponents of Socialism.
a. Including others temporizing and evolutionary.
b. But essentially political revolutionists.

VI. Scientific Socialists. (Better Social Reform.)
1. State Socialism in Germany.
a. Practical reform through legislation.
a. Public weal through present organism (Blanc.)
b. Wagner leading authority, limited nationalism.
b. Early Prussian economy, paternalism and reaction.
c. Emphasized greatly by Bismarck, why?
d. State socialistic progress since empire (1870.)
a. Unhappy work people increased Social Dem.
b. State monopolies; tobacco, tariff, railroads.
c. Workingmen's legislation and tax reform.
2. Professorial. (Kathedars or Soc. of the Chair.)
a. Origin of term (1872), only sympathy with.
a. Opposed to *laissez-faire*, harmony of interests.
b. Holding middle ground between extremes.
b. Character of Congress (Eisenach), economists.
a. Recognizing social crises, denouncing individ.
b. Schmoller, Engel, Roscher, Brentano, Knies.
c. Doctrines of the School. (hist., real, ethical.)
a. Reform must be evolutionary (hence not Soc.)
b. Better distribution by present government.
c. Inequality a necessity, if not aid, to progress.
d. Reforms insisted upon. (same as English.)
a. Factory laws, trade unions, saving banks, etc.
b. State caused *social* question; must solve it.
e. Criticism of use of name. (hurtful.)
a. Misleading, awakening distrust and antagonism.
b. Confusing, leading astray, farther than intended.
c. "Differs *toto coelo* from Socialists."—Rae.
3. Basis of Fabian Society (strongly Socialistic.)
a. Reorganize society by nationalizing land, etc.
b. Works for extinction of land rents.
c. Controlling all productive means, where helpful.
a. Monopoly surplus enriches proprietary classes.
b. Inventions help capital to enlarge its part.
c. Making workmen dependent on it for living.
d. Some relief granted for expropriated property.

a. Rent and interest fall to labor's reward.
b. Idle class living now on labor will disappear.
c. Practical equal opportunity, greater liberty.
e. Method of attainment: education *vs.* revolution.
a. Meetings to discuss Socialistic questions.
b. Publication of information—arguments for Soc.
c. Debates, lectures, public conferences, etc., etc.
f. In theory but not in practice they are socialists.

VII. Various Societies not Socialistic but Social.
1. Nationalists of various degrees:
a. Gronlund's co-operating commonwealth socialistic.
b. Bellamy, instruments of production and distrib.
c. George only unearned increment on land.
a. Progress increases poverty; poor made poorer.
b. Causes show method of solution:
(1.) Capital's profits lead to industrial crises.
(2.) Absorption of unearned increment by tax.
(3.) Instruments of production released from tax.
c. Criticism—brilliant but illogical every way.
(1.) Unearned increment not only in land.
(2.) Impossibility of putting into practice.
(3.) Socializing land likely to destroy its value.
2. People's Party. (Populism in the United States.)
a. Vote and important growth recently. (Statistics.)
a. Development of granges and alliances.
b. Result of 1892 largely partisan politics.
b. Platform, Omaha, 1892. (Almanacs 1893.)
a. Preamble and criticisms of present state:
(1.) Nation on verge of moral and material ruin.
(2.) Bondholder enriched; greenbacks; silver.
(3.) Old parties corrupt, people sacrificed for gain.
(4.) Existence primary; reforms are secondary.
b. Political planks. (principles.)
(1.) Wealth to producer else robbery; work, eat.
(2.) Railways nationalized, civil service.
(3.) Finance, free coinage, income tax, saving banks, national circulation loaned to people at low rate of interest, etc.
c. Expression of political faith. (many counts.)
(1.) Covering largely same ground as Soc. Dem.
(2.) Element of revolution absent, only evolution.
3. Christian Socialists. (better Sociologists.)
a. Sought to hold laborers to the Church.
a. Hence first of all churchmen.
b. Open to charge of self-interest.

b. Movement in Germany begun 1864. (Catholic.)
  a. History—transformed Kölping clubs of 1847.
    (1.) Journeymen's and other Catholic clubs.
    (2.) Began with high church party.
  b. Leaders—Döllinger, Ketteler and Moufang. (1874)
  c. Principles, (Ketteler's pamphlet on labor. (1864.)
    (1.) Church under obligation to aid reform.
    (2.) Moufang, reform by aid of state *vs.* church.
      (a.) State help through legislation, pecuniary.
      (b.) Reduction of taxes; control money power.
  d. Form of organization—workingmen's clubs.
c. Protestant movement in 1878.
  a. Leading spirits Todt and Stöcker.
  b. Principles advocated by Todt:
    (1.) New testament guide for economic questions.
    (2.) Government republican, harmonizing with Christian ideal.
    (3.) Advocates Christian Communism.
  c. Stöcker's leading principles:
    (1.) Church provide workingmen's organizations.
    (2.) Prohibit Sunday labor.
    (3.) High luxury tax; income tax, etc.
  d. Forms of organization—clubs.
    (1.) Central Union of Social Reform.
    (2.) Named "Christian Social Workingmen's."
d. Movement in United States. (1846.)
  a. Analogy and sympathy with early church.
    (1.) Why changed feelings; Socialism anti-ch.
    (2.) Nature of church and modern failure. (?)
    (3.) Gospel to supplement social conditions.
  b. Efforts made to extend Christian Sociology.
    (1.) Channing at Boston, 1846; Chas. Dana.
    (2.) Brookfarm movement (Greely, Hawthorn.)
    (3.) Declaration adopted at Boston, 1889. (Ely.)
      (a.) Benefit of all; elevate humanity, etc.
      (b.) Production without plan—hence crises.
      (c.) Control of business constitutes plutocracy.
      (d.) Evils—mammonism, recklessness, crime.
      (e.) Social order needs reconstruction.
      (f.) Objects of Christian Sociology.
        (*a.*) Aim of Christianity embraces Social.
        (*b.*) Must lead to some form of Socialism.
      (g.) Invite co-operation and fellowship.
  c. Criticism and prospects.
    (1.) Danger of going too far.
    (2.) Emphasizing material *vs.* spiritual.

Syllabus of Seventh Topic.

THEORETICAL ADVANTAGES OF SOCIALISM.

Bibliography; *Anonymous*, Social Horizon; *Aveling*, Student's Marx;° *Bax*, Ethics of Socialism; Religion of Socialism; *Bellamy*, Looking Backward; *Besant*, Industry Under Socialism; *Brooks*, Study in Modern Socialism; *Dawson*, German Socialism and Lassalle; Bismark and State Socialism; *Ely*, Socialism and Social Reform; Labor Movements in America; *Engel*, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; Fabian Essays and Tracts; *George*, Social Problems; *Gunton*, Economic Basis of Socialism;° Social Economics; *Gronlund*, Co-operative Commonwealth; Our Destiny; *Hyndman*, Historical Basis of Socialism in England; Principles of Socialism; *Kirkup*, History of Socialism; *Laveleye*, Socialism of To-day;° *Marx*, Capital; *Schäffle*, Quintessence of Socialism; *Smith*, Questions of To-day; *Sprague*, Socialism from Genesis to Revelations; *Webb*, Socialism in England; Encyclopedias; *Poole's* Index and Review of Reviews for contemporary magazine literature.

I. Strong Points from Economic Standpoint. (Ely.)
  1. Enormous waste in competitive production.
    a. Seen in competing railways (trunk lines).
      a. Expense of double lines and officials.
      b. Advertising and necessary government control.
      c. Specific illustrations involving *billions of dollars.*
        (1.) Lines on either side of Hudson.
        (2.) New York via Cleveland to Chicago.
        (3.) Double lines from Indianapolis to St. Louis.
      d. Better service where nationalized. (?)
    b. Competition in telegraph and express companies.
      a. Western Union duplicated for one-fifth cost.
      b. Loss of operating equally great.
      c. Made part of postal system in England (1870).
        (1.) Rates much cheaper than by competition.
        (2.) Prompter service; more helpful officials.
      d. Lines longer here, but cost more there. Why?
    c. Municipalization of gas, water works, etc.
      a. Illustrated by Baltimore Consumer's Gas Co.
        1. Capitalized at 18 mills. duplicated for five.
        2. At higher prices quality frequently inferior.
      b. Water works and street railways equally wasteful.
        1. Creating dangerous monopolies to corrupt gov.
        2. Might be made a source of needed revenue.
      c. If municipalized would force better government.
    d. Aimlessness or planlessness of production in gen'l.
      a. Present system of exchange not needed.
        (1.) Complex machinery of middlemen expensive.
        (2.) Advertising and extravagant display.
      b. Lack of system results in overproduction.
      c. Would greatly relieve employer and risker.
      d. Giving hope and courage to lower ranks.

e. Compelling all to work who are able.
(1.) Greatly enlarging volume of production.
(2.) Preventing exploitation of others' labor.
(3.) Removing unproductive parasitic life.
f. Check against overwork of women and children.
g. Afford reciprocal supervision and control of labor.
e. More perfect organization, more copious production.
a. Highest talent recruited by most perfect system.
b. "Survival of the fittest" complete social evolution.
2. Economy apparent in distribution and consumption.
a. Ideal—fullest gratification of normal wants.
a. Competition takes from one to give another.
b. Under-consumption checks increased production.
c. Commodities would be obtained at cost.
d. Commercial crises and loss eliminated.
b. Equitable distribution would benefit all classes.
a. Employer getting less but gains *surer* share.
b. Greater national consumption is highest ideal.
c. Lessen greatly need of individual expense.
d. Satisfactory industry being more attractive learned professions would not be so crowded.
c. Doctrine of "final utility" limits production.
a. To make scarce is the end of trusts.
b. The evils of monopoly would be annihilated.
c. Removing antagonism between labor and capital.
d. Abundance follows social not individual riches.
d. Immense economy in expense of governing.
a. Most legislation relates to private property.
b. Taxation difficult, costly and unethical.
c. Expenses of insurance saved or lessened.
d. Compulsory education difficult under competiti'n.
e. Economy relative—covering so many subjects.
(1.) Though aggregating more, still relatively less.
(2.) Saving in many lines absolute.
(3.) Transferred from individual to national effort.

II. Its Theoretical Effects on Morals and Art.

1. Defects apparent in most social schemes.
a. Anti-religious and opposed to family charged.
a. Materialism eliminating God and religion.
b. Strong tendency to break down family.
b. On contrary opposite tendencies claimed.
a. Family now destroyed by industrial competition.
b. Workshop and factory system destroy family.

c. Temptation to individual frauds entirely removed.
d. Stock-gambling and corporation-wrecking cease.
2. The socialistic ideals are ethical and altruistic.
a. Attracting great souls with religious zeal.
b. Transforming selfishness into self-sacrifice.
c. Strength seen in their attractiveness and effects.
3. The brotherhood of man strongly accentuated.
a. No "submerged tenth" excluded from its scheme.
b. Adequate provision of all a necessary fact.
c. Women and children protected and given rights.
a. Marriage made more voluntary not economic.
b. Children educated; women enfranchised.
4. Social ethics greatly modified for the better.
a. Naturalization of monopoly removes injustice.
a. Rents would then fall to all in common.
b. Money and capital not instruments of slavery.
c. Excessive profits from exchange would cease.
d. Press would not be subsidized by wealthy.
b. Natural antagonism of competition not corrupt.
a. Present system of money abolished.
b. Money-wage conceals product of labor.
c. Enabling capital to absorb a part unjustly.
c. Distributing to each his need and earnings.
d. Removing much of hereditary curse (poverty).
a. Changed environment would save from crime.
b. Slums would not have reason to exist.
e. He that would not work would not eat.
5. Socialism would greatly purify government.
a. Absorbing best morals and talents (vital thing).
b. Plutocracy could not unduly influence these.
c. Pomotion would depend on moral qualifications.
a. No inducement to get the corrupt into office.
b. On contrary, best talent desired by all.
d. Military rule is not a good school for morals.
6. The effect on art would be especially great.
a. State better able to be good art patron.
a. Economy resulting from socializing galleries, etc.
b. Leisure and moderate comfort create artistic taste.
b. Plutocracy's ideals not those of true art.
c. Neither poverty nor riches best for art atmosphere.
d. Many best poets and artists are socialists.

III. Benefits from Socialistic Agitation.

1. Awakening realization of actual condition of poor.

a. Never so great sympathy and intelligent help.
b. Sordid gain supported by higher life.
c. Discussion arouses thought—creates higher ideals.

2. Dangerous material individualism is revealed.
a. Emphasis on other side greatly needed to-day.
b. The older economic theories need modification.
c. Discussion shows institutional growth of society.

3. The demands of socialism improves government.
a. Their platforms are ultimate ideals and demands.
b. Many immediate demands meet popular favor:
a. Sanitation of factories; insurance of workmen.
b. Protection thrown around women and children.
c. Educated voter; secret ballot; fair count, etc.
c. Government more than the offices and "pull."

4. To be effectual the scheme need not all be true.
a. Many impractical, unjust doctrines taught.
b. Not all socialists are like the best.
c. Many of worst class train with socialists.
d. Corruption, violence and anarchy likely to result.
e. Comparative results must await final solution.

IV. Criticisms may easily be raised against much.

1. The question is not against the ideal.
a. But whether it can be made practical.
b. The weakness of scheme seen in next topic.

2. Certain objections pertinent to foregoing.
a. Question of waste is one of relative production.
a. Initiative through hope of reward effectual.
(1.) Exceeding net product even after waste.
(2.) Dependent on man's economic nature.
b. History proves this in every instance.
b. The aimlessness hardly less great under socialism.
c. Imperfect exchange corrected not destroyed.
a. All parts of exchange needed by theory.
b. Each factor taking only ethical portion.
d. Cost has been greatly reduced by competition.
a. Invention and organization beneficial.
b. Although make more difficult the part of *unfit*.
e. Task of government under socialism superhuman.
a. Even if any fixed plan could be agreed to.
b. Would lead to despotism of worst sort.

Syllabus of Eighth Topic.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST SOCIALISM.

Bibliography: *Bascom*, Social Theory: *Behrend*, Socialism and Christianity; *Böhm-Bawerk*, Capital and Interest; *Brown*, Studies in Modern Socialism;* *Cossa*, Introduction to Study of Pol. Econ.; *Ely*, Socialism and Social Reform;* *Gilman*, Socialism and Am. Spirit; *Gunton*, Social Economics; *Graham*, Socialism New and Old; *Guyot*, The Tyranny of Socialism;* Social Economy; *Hill*, Fallacies of Socialism; *Kidd*, Social Evolution; *Kirkup*, History of Socialism; *Lavelaye*, Socialism of To-day; *Mackey Etc.*, A Plea for Liberty; *Mallock*, Social Equality; Property and Progress; *Mill*, Socialism; *Naquet*, Collectivism and Socialism; *Rae*, Contemporary Socialism;* *Rogers*, Work and Wages; *Schäffle*, Quintessence of Socialism;* Impossibility of Social Democracy; *Schaff-Herzog*, Encyc. of Relig. Knowledge; *Sprague*, Socialism from Genesis to Revelations; *Thoreau*, Anti-slavery and Reform; *Walker* The Wages Question; *Woolsey*, Communism and Socialism; Encyclopedias; Various Indexes for Current Literature of Subject.

I. Its Economic and General Philosophy False.

1. German materialism unsatisfactory.
a. Religion not the product of economy alone.
b. Different religious beliefs under like economics.
c. Refutation of specific phase, when fundamental, weakens if not destroys essence of socialism.

2. Society is not predetermined though influenced.
a. Evolution is not an inflexible law.
b. Effected by dynamics of human volition.
c. Marx's law of social evolution unproven.
a. Appeal to individual history for test.
b. If so, then why preach socialism or anything?

3. Marx's economic laws also distorted truths.
a. Their scientific form of statement deceptive.
b. Surplus value not robbed from labor.
c. Rent, interest and profits distinct from wages.
a. Each has a valid place in production.
b. Abuse of function not justify its destruction.
d. If such fundamental socialistic economic theories be refuted, what effect? (*vs.* Ely.)
a. Can rent be socialized without social injury?
b. Weakness (false) to call all but labor robbery.

4. Fabians have emancipated themselves from such.
a. Greatly modifying their ideals and claims.
b. Appealing so much more strongly to reason.
c. Still more reasonable to substitute social reform.

5. Society is composed of all classes.
a. Being made task of workingmen dooms project.
a. Incapacity of "submerged tenth" prevents.
b. Would be unjust to other *nine* tenths.
b. Is not this the character of the movement?
a. Idealists (students and religionists) truly not.
b. But generally practically so conceived.

c. Necessary character of German movement.
c. Changes have been necessitated by discussion.
a. Transforming it into social reform.
b. Changing idealism into practical legislation.
d. No one scheme suits all exponents.
a. Scheme a negation and not constructive.
b. When method announced disintegration begins.
c. Recognized early by leaders (hence criticism).
e. Most competent and judicial minds condemn.
a. Extremes impractical and unnecessary.
b. Practical Christian men see hope elsewhere.
c. Out of harmony with man's nature.

II. Objections from Standpoint of Production.
1. Destroying individual gain diminishes enterprise.
a. Hope of reward is the highest incentive.
b. Social esteem great but not sufficient (history).
c. Socialistic centralization produce extremes.
a. Unduly stimulating ambition of the few.
b. But quenching (destroying) is in the masses.
c. Influencing most where needed least.
d. Free choice of occupation and migration essential.
2. Regulated competition is prime factor of progress.
a. Individuals act where society would falter.
a. Enterprising always ahead of the average.
b. Social mass could not act, lacking unity.
b. Individual talent increases want satisfiers.
c. Wealth of greatest blessing (necessity) to society.
d. Granting each the result of labor best incentive.
3. Practical difficulty of unifying and directing.
a. Even when for most part made communal.
b. Distributing and rewarding labor in various fields.
c. Free choice of employment absolutely essential.
d. When these secured what essentials remain?
e. Would transcend highest human ability.
4. Regulating supply and demand *vs.* market.
a. "Socially necessary time cost" insufficient.
b. Use value a necessary element of value.
c. Hence Marx's theory of value vitally defective.
d. Reward by merit being hard on incapables.
a. Would create dissatisfaction lessening product.
b. Continuing competition would negate socialism.
e. Not destruction, regulation of competition needed.
5. Many kinds of production not suited to socialism.
a. Agricultural, too extensive to permit oversight.

b. Oversight too expensive (failure of slave labor).
c. Forcing society back to fundamental element.
d. Risking must be left to individual initiative.

III. Objections from Standpoint of Distribution.
1. Difficulty of agreeing upon a method.
a Should it be according to want.
a. Who would decide upon degree or estimate?
b. Certain to produce dissatisfaction of capable.
c. Tending to check capacity and thrift.
b. If according to equality, what?
a. Would be unjust and discouraging.
b. Not duly rewarding highest productivity.
c. If according to productivity, then
a. Competition and essence of socialism gone.
b. Dissatisfaction and plan abandoned.
d. These objections practical and insuperable.
2. Natural aristocracy of merit should be encouraged.
a. Not possible in scope of socialistic state.
b. May be beneficially utilized in competitive state.
c. Practical social or industrial equality impossible.
a. Would not be profitable if possible.
b. Absence of ideals for others to copy.
3. If democratically socialistically organized.
a. Highest and best activities least rewarded.
b. Resulting in a non-progressive society.
c. Seen in most pure democratic movements.
4. If storing or depositing of credits allowed.
a. How prevent from taking usury or rent?
b. If not transferable waste encouraged.
5. Schäffle's objections to social democracy.
a. Removal of firm authorative guidance necessary to immense business of collective production.
b. Premium on merit and use-value in product scatters to the winds the appeal to social democracy; but these are fundamental economic principles, without which socialism is impossible.

IV. Political Difficulties and Objections.
1. Necessary authority, central or local, demands parties.
a. Absorbing greater functions would reduce liberty.
b. Awake conflict and stimulate partisanship.
c. If tyrannical would become unendurable.
d. If individual liberty gone scheme unacceptable.

2. Socialistic state implies only one principle.
   a. Competition could not even be advocated.
      a. Hence free inquiry crushed.
      b. Competitive merit practically annihilated.
   b. Socialistic despotism worst possible kind.
      a. Being many *vs.* one rather than *vice versa*.
      b. If tyranny impossible, socialism disrupted.
3. Could socialism furnish scope for natural aristocracy?
   a. Social influence should be encouraged.
   b. Individuals should not be hindered unduly.
   c. Social equality false and pernicious.
      a. "Nothing more unequal than equal treatment of unequals."
      b. Powerful capital and weak labor illustrate.
4. Highest rational liberty not socialistic.
   a. This the golden mean between one and society.
   b. Socialism is as destructive as individualism.
   c. Hence, again, the golden mean is *Social Reform*.

V. Miscellaneous Objections Emphasized.

1. An ideal scheme neglecting essential human nature.
   a. Unduly pessimistic of present competitive régime.
   b. Too optimistic of socialistic Utopias.
   c. Hold to present till proof of a better.
   d. Balance of good and evil justifies acting.
   e. Still self-interest is not only motive.
   f. Self-sacrifice and devotion seen everywhere.
2. Absolutely impractical by evolution or revolution.
   a. The controlling middle classes always existant.
   b. Fourth Estate revolution must be *destructive*.
      a. Crippling to the extent of its being successful.
      b. Erecting incapable means destroying all gov't.
   c. Present revolutionary ideal for lowest classes.
3. Tendency to revolution occasions idleness and crime.
   a. Indirectly chargable to false socialistic teaching.
      a. Seen in recent railroad strikes etc.
      b. Recent industrial and monetary crises.
   b. Revolution rarely justifiable or permanent good.
   c. Better method of reforms by proper agency.
4. Material selfishness cannot overcome power-holding.
   a. Marx's proletariat powerless to construct.
   b. "Altruistic softening results from religious belief."
   c. Evolutionary processes, then, not socialistic.

Syllabus of Ninth Topic.

METHODS OF SOLUTION ALREADY TRIED. (Historic.)

Bibliography: *Ackland and Jones*, Workingmen Co-operators; *Barnreiter*, English Association of Workingmen; *Brentano*, Hours, Wages and Production; *Bushill*, Profit Sharing and Labor Sharing; *Commissioner of Labor*, Strikes and Lockouts; *Commons*, Distribution of Wealth; *Consular Reports*, Co-operation in France; *Drage*, The Unemployed; *Eaton*, Civil Service in Great Britain; *Ely*, Socialism and Social Reform;° Labor Movements in America; Problems of To-day; *Gilman*, Profit Sharing; *Gunton*, Wealth and Progress;° *Guyot*, Principles of Social Economics; *Holyoke*, History of Co-operation; *Jevons*, Social Reform; *Jones*, Co-operative Production; *Lafargue*, The Evolution of Property; *Mackey*, etc., A Plea for Liberty;° *Mallock*, Social Inequality; *McCosh*, Problems of American Civilization; *Pizzamiglio*, Distributive Co-operative Societies; *Potter*, Co-operative Movements; *Rae*, Eight Hours for Work;° *Robertson*, The Eight Hour Question; *Rogers*, Work and Wages; *Schloss*, Industrial Remuneration;° *Schulze, Gaevernitz*, Social Peace; *Taylor*, Modern Factory System;° *Walker*, The Wage Question; Co-operation and Profit Sharing. *Ward*, The Ancient Lowly; *Weaver*, Syllabus Thirteenth of Sociology; *Wolff*, People's Banks; *Poole's* Index and Review of Reviews for contemporary magazine literature.

I. Introductory—What is Social Reform?

1. Distinction between social reform and socialism.
   a. Golden mean between individualism and socialism.
   b. Regulating instead of destroying competition.
      a. Brought about by rationalized diverse interests.
      b. Partaking essentially of economic questions.
   c. Hence what best for humanity is social reform.
2. Labor complaint—too little of product received.
   a. Amount falling to each factor difficult to equate.
   b. Various theories as to residual claimant.
   c. Ethical division of profits *vs.* charitable gifts.
   d. Disposition of unearned increment.
      a. Difficult to estimate or discover.
      b. When impractical to socialize goes to finder.
   e. All forms of energy sold on the market.
3. The wage system, result of industrial development.
   a. Factors of production: labor, capital, entrepreneur.
   b. Methods of remuneration (kinds of wages).
      a. Time, task, piece, contract and sub-contract.
      b. Individual, collective, mixed.
      c. Collective, progressive (premium on skill), gain
   c. Degree of correspondence between wages and labor.
      a. Generally best guaranteed by fair competition.
      b. State should prevent its extinction by monopoly.
      c. Church can further equalize inequalities.
4. Solutions mainly attempted or proposed.
   a. Communistic production an historic failure.
      a. As clearly demonstrated in topic 5.
      b. And for the present universally abandoned.
      c. Had it been successful would not justify socialism.

b. Socialistic state neither probable nor practical.
a. As logically developed in topics 6, 7 and 8.
b. Leaving restricted competition the only solution.
c. But method not yet satisfactorily discovered.
c. Remedies for abuses under careful investigation.

II. Result of Labor Organization. (Trade Unions.)
1. Origin and history of the movement.
a. Grounded in the essential nature of man.
b. Found expression from earliest times. (Ward.)
c. Mediæval guilds only modifications of principle.
d. Modern development given in III. of Topic 6.
2. Inherent difficulties to be overcome.
a. Incapable of wise, effective organization.
a. Lack of organizing capacity and morality.
b. Mass of incapables tests severely competition.
b. Legal aspect—to remain within bounds.
a. Right to quit work (strike) generally conceded.
b. Strike without prohibiting "scabs" valueless. (?)
3. Practical outcome of the movement.
a. Educational—conscious of rights and powers.
a. Fitting lower classes for organization.
b. In so far as sharpening competition.
b. Raising wages or preventing reduction.
a. Statistics by Department of Labor, 1894.
b. Though at a fearful expenditure, some gain.
4. Relation between unionism and co-operation. (Schloss)
a. Coincidences in certain features.
a. Regulation of remuneration received by members.
(1.) Objecting to work with non-unionists, etc.
(2.) Restriction of number of apprentices, etc.
b. Employer's action restricted and regulated.
b. Distinction of objects and methods.
a. Unionism confined to wages, not profits.
b. Proposes no new methods of remuneration.
c. Sharpening competiti'n betwe'n labor and capital.
d. Not transferring profits to labor participating.
(1.) While helpful, not satisfactory or final.
(2.) Additional aids protecting labor needed.

III. Co-operation. (not Profit-Sharing.)
1. Classification, signification, distinctions.
a. Forms of industrial activity.
a. Individual producer and consumer the same.
b. Co-operation. (distributive or productive.)
(1.) By state (public); if general, socialistic.

(2.) Private, by corporations or partnership.
c. Entrepreneur (undertaker or risker).
(1.) Individual—single head responsible.
(2.) Joint stock—co-operation as in *b*.
d. Profit-sharing may be adopted by *b*. or *c*.
(1.) Part of profit shared with wage earners.
(2.) Distributed by the entrepreneur by agreem't.
b. The theory of industrial co-operation.
a. Function and risk of entrepreneur dispensed with.
b. Workmen self-employed, sharing risks and profit.
c. Critical examination of the theory.
a. Ideal impractical—absence of ability with capital.
b. These control movement, absorbing interest, etc.
c. Only profitable when ideal abandoned.
d. Distinction between it and profit-sharing.
a. Essential—character of the entrepreneur.
b. Why co-operation rejects profit-sharing.
(1.) Practice inconsistent with former theory.
(2.) Profit-sharing believed not to pay.
(3.) Rewards talent, hence highest industrial form.
2. History of Practical Industrial Co-operation.
a. In France, see consular report 148.
b. In England, see Schloss' Industrial Remuneration.
c. In United States, see Walker, etc., Co-operation.
a. Generally failure except in specific lines.
b. Great enterprises or demanding little organism.
3. Advantages—in certain lines.
a. Enlists men and capital for great undertakings.
a. This necessity unites labor without capital.
b. Relatively more successful in distribution.
b. Prevents monopoly by organizing competition.
a. Saving waste—running machinery all the time.
b. Permitting division of labor, increasing product.
c. Promotes organization among the labor classes.
a. Where enterprise is comparatively small.
b. In which intricate organization not demanded.
d. Helps recruit capital from labor classes.
4. Objections, criticisms and strictures.
a. May lead to trusts and combines (monopoly).
b. Difficult to unify unless greatly modified.
a. Arousing jealousy of superior talent.
b. Self-government involves loose discipline.
c. Not prepared to act with promptness and decision.

c. Fails to relieve where help most needed.
a. Men of small capital and ability.
b. Unskilled and unorganized labor.

IV. Profit-Sharing is not Co-operation.
1. Signification and distinction.
a. Should be distinguished from charities.
a. Extra wages, provident fund, free-will gifts.
b. Nor an indeterminate part of profits.
b. Forms of remuneration *not* profit-sharing.
a. Co-operation, less adequate labor solution.
(1.) Which demands talent and capital.
(2) Thus getting rid of entrepreneur.
b. Product-sharing restricted to few industries.
c. Commissions to salesmen over wages.
c. Essential elements of profit-sharing.
a. Participation of employes in the profits.
(1.) Offering a stimulus to create extra profit.
(2.) May be graded to talent or service.
(3.) Not surrender direction or firm secrets.
b. Economic basis *vs.* charity.
(1.) Hope of profit makes labor more profitable.
(2.) More skill, increased zeal, less waste.
c. No fixed rule for amount or time.
(1.) Would remove reward of special faithfulness.
(2.) Yet definite enough to satisfy workmen.
2. Practice or history of profit-sharing.
b. Good results of Gilman's researches.
b. History of Maison LeClair, of Paris.
c. Carson, Pierie, Scott & Co., of Chicago, 1895.
a. Based on sales of five years.
b. Amount from two to ten per cent. of sales.
d. Results good, best solution yet proposed.
3. Objections and advantages.
a. Bad years make men dissatisfied, suspicious.
b. Knowledge of business may injure undertaking.
c. Offers premium for long faithful service.
d. Equitable compensation satisfying labor best.
e. Not yet final, must be supplemented by others.

V. Legislative Restriction or Control of Monopoly, etc.
1. Theory of government in general.
a. Laissez-faire at present unduly individualistic.
b. Industrial state demands legislative supervision.
c. Organic conception implies welfare of whole.

a. New rights established and guaranteed.
b. Controlling monopolies, regulating competition.
c. Patronizing morality, encouraging education, etc.
d. Not less done for labor than for capital.
d. Right and obligation of state interference.
a. Is rule to prevent injury sufficient?
b. General welfare better, sacrifice of few.
2. Social reform depends on political, and *vice versa.*
a. Reciprocal influence, which, if any, antecedent?
a. Individual and social necessary to legislative.
b. Is legislative reform the key to political?
c. Rather social the impelling cause of both.
b. Quasi failure of legislative assemblies.
a. Incapacity and lack of preparation.
b. Machinery defective, do we need new mechanisms?
c. Short services of legislators, rotation in office.
a. Re-election purchased by doubtful means.
b. Division of labor demands more permanency.
d. Growing power of executive (appointing power).
3. Reformative measure wholly or partly carried out.
a. Concerning monopoly, trusts, boycotts, etc.
a. Checking railway discriminations, etc.
b. Preventing trusts and combines.
b. Labor and factory legislation:
a. Restricting employment of women and children.
b. Compulsory education; commissions of labor.
c. Insurance, sanitation, truck act, poor laws, etc.
d. Eight hour laws. (see World Almanac, 1896.)
c. Strikes and lockouts regulated.
a. Guaranteeing right and preventing abuse of.
b. Protecting public by national army.
c. Forcing labor to rational methods. (ballot.)
d. Australian ballot. (generally adopted.)
a. Should be simplified and less expensive.
b. Should not defeat will of electors.
c. Voting machines (automatic) promise relief.
d. Open ballot implies purchase or domination.
e. Corrupt ballot will destroy popular government.
e. Civil service reform imperatively necessary.
a. Great benefits notwithstanding partisan objectio's.
b. Business habits impossible with rotation.
c. "Spoils to victor" would corrupt any people.
f. Prospective legislation falls under next topic.

Syllabus of Tenth Topic.

FURTHER METHODS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

Bibliography: *Barry*, Christianity and Socialism; *Bascon*, Social Theory; *Beauvu*, The Modern State; *Behrends*, Socialism and Christianity; * *Bemis*, Relation of Church to Social Problems; *Bryan*, The Mark in Europe and America; *Bryce* American Commonwealth; *Coit*, Neighborhood Guilds; *Commons*, Proportional Representation; * Church and Social Reform; *Dawson*, Unearned Increment; *Ely*, Socialism and Social Reform; * Social Aspects of Christianity; *Epps*, Land System of Australia; *George*, Progress and Poverty; *Gladden*, Applied Christianity; *Hill*, Social Influence of Christianity; *Herron*, Christian State; *Hole*, National Railways *Hughes*,, Social Christianity; *Kidd*, Social Evolution; *Laveleye*, Primitive Property *Mallock*, Property and Progress; * *Newton*, Social Studies; *Oberholz*. Referendum and Initiative; *Ritchie*, Principles of State Interference; * *Seebohm*, English Village Community; *Sumner*, What the Social Classes Owe Each Other; *Sprague*, Socialism from Gen. to Rev.: *Strong*, The New Era; *Stubbs*, Land and Laborers; *Stuckenberg*, Christian Socialism; * *Vincent*, State and Fed. Gov. of Switzerland; *Vinogradoff*, Villinage in England; *Walker*, Land and Its Rent; *Wallace*, Land Nationalization; *Weaver*, Syllabus Fourteenth of Sociology; *Westcott*, Social Aspect of Christianity; Encyclopedias; *Poole's*, Index and Review of Reviews for Current Magazine Literature.

I. INTRODUCTORY—SOCIAL REFORM MEANS PROGRESS.

1. Free competition may be one-sided, hence destructive.
   a. Need of change in rhythmic movement.
      a. Condition of Society—unequal opportunity.
      b. Operation cruel as laws of nature.
   b. Shown by great reformers, Booth and Riis.
      a. Millions of human beings ground to rubbish.
      b. Progress cannot exact such dreadful sacrifice.
      c. Does not necessitate damage to the poor. (Kidd.)
2. Socialistic criticism of present civilization helpful.
   a. Saving a part must not injure the whole.
   b. Progress must be necessarily slow. (evolutional.)
   c. But Socialism as a solution is impracticable.
   d. Swinging from one extreme to another.
   e. Golden mean is the only path of safety.
3. The key of Social Reform is economic. (Ely.)
   a. Better utilization of productive forces essential.
      a. Reducing waste of present method.
      b. Securing steady employment of labor and capital.
      c. Full utilization of invention and discoveries.
   b. Present extremes of distribution of wealth avoided.
      a. Widest possible diffusion of comfort essential.
      b. Assured sufficient incomes if practicable.
      c. Income dependent on personal exertion, if able.
   c. Largest opportunity to develop individual faculties.
      a. All phases of development included here.
      b. Satisfaction and contentment hard to be realized.
4. Discussion must be impersonal—measures not men.

   a. Wealth under present régime not necessarily unjust.
      a. Private initiative permitted, individual justified.
      b. But not improper means to secure franchises.
      c. Many illustrious examples: industrialists, etc.
   b. Question concerns not only labor but capital.
      a. Socialization of monopoly favors not only labor.
      b. Modifying the thrust at Socialism proper.
      c. Still controlling monopoly is not Socialism.
      d. But more specifically and logically *Reform.*
      e. Since socializing monopoly saves free competition.
      f. While practical Socialism *must destroy* competition.
5. Hence distinction between Socialism and Reform.
   a. Former *destroys* while latter *saves* competition.
   b. Such competition preserves adjusted initiative.
   c. Without which social man would retrogade.

II. SOCIALIZATION OF MONOPOLY.

1. Classification, according to degree.
   a. Natural—nature of activity.
      a. By virtue of quality inherent in business.
         (1.) Transportation, communication, city light,
         (2.) No room for competitive efforts.
      b. By limitation of material. (possibility of control.)
         (1.) Conditioned by amount of capital needed.
         (2.) Illustrated by Standard Oil Company.
   b. Artificial created by legislative franchises.
2. Regulation or nationalization of greatest monopolies.
   a. Only when state has the necessary mechanism.
      a. Civil service and department of trained experts.
      b. Fear of political corruption thus neutralized.
   b. England and United States too individualistic?
      a. Monopoly destroys fair competition.
      b. Crisis mitigated, idleness diminished thereby.
      c. Inventions (improvements) more easily utilized.
3. Nationalizing monopoly equalizes private wealth.
   a. Report of Holmes of census office shows need.
   b. Great increase of millionaires in New York city.
      a. From 28 in 1855 to 1,103 in 1892.
      b. These resulted essentially from monopoly.
   c. Natural monopoly belongs to society, their product.
4. If wisely conducted would reduce social hardships.
   a. Transportation, if private, destroys opportunity.
      a. Seen in present telegraph, express and R. R. Cos.
      b. Discriminations, market manipulations, bonds.

c. Costing society not only for loss, but extra cost.
b. Private ownership leads to strikes, may be war.
c. Even strong arguments for railroad nationalization.
d. Objections may be successfully filed:
a. Magnitude of enterprise may break down gov't.
b. May lead to corruption, and paternalism.
c. Gov't should do only what people cannot well.

III. Land Reform. (Ely and George.)
1. Land is not a natural monopoly.
a. Cannot be controlled or owned by corporation.
b. False hypotheses of Henry George.
c. Being limited partakes of monopolistic nature.
2. Abuse of present land tenure.
a. Much out of use, held for speculation.
b. Showing reason for some change or reform.
c. Taking unearned increment practically impossible.
3. Character of any rational change.
a. Must be moderate and not radical.
a. Gen'l nationalization unjustified by history.
b. Distribution of increment impractical.
b. Adjustment by legislation and taxation better.
a. Extending city limits by municipal purchase.
b. Public lands not sold but only henceforth leased.
c. Simplification of land transfer. (Torrens system.)
a. State responsible for validity of title.
b. Recent discussion and adoption by states.
4. Socialization of large tracts in New Zealand, etc.
a. By means of progressive tax on amount.
b. If amount objected to, purchase by appraisement.
c. Labor problem helped by founding villages.
d. Test of all, effect on initiative and progress.

IV. Political Reforms. (Syllabus 14 of Sociolgy.)
1. Should mechanism be changed or reformed?
a. Evolution in subject matter greatly modified.
. Some evolution of mechanism reasonable.
b. But perfecting of old more essential.
b. Sectionalism generally dropped from local politics.
a. Here social and economic questions vital.
b. Parties become too powerful and insolent.
c. Undue influence of saloon and wealth.
2. Certain proposed changes in legislative forms.
a. Referendum and direct initiative.
a. Suited to small states and certain questions.

b. Fundamental in constitutional questions.
c. Certain unquestioned general advantages.
(1.) Removes certain matters from legislation.
(2.) Places check on venal, vicious legislators.
d. Serious objections if carried too far.
(1.) Destroys true representative democracy.
(2.) Permits disqualified to legislate practically.
(3.) At times cumbersome and unduly expensive.
b. Would proportional representation aid reform?
a. Electoral districts must be relatively large.
b. Various methods of counting and equalizing votes.
c. Claimed advantages of proposed method.
(1.) Reduce temptation to purchase vote.
(2.) Would secure best men of all parties.
d. Chief objections raised by opponents.
c. The gerrymander must be destroyed.
a. Marked illustration from state legislation.
b. Party advantages dictate and justify frequently.
(1.) Condemned by all right minded people.
(2.) Declared unconstitutional by many courts.
(3.) Still exists through force, fraud and violence.
c. The task of crushing it is primary and urgent.
3. The fault of vicious politics is in society.
a. Best people abstain from primaries, etc.
a. Thinking it useless have become discouraged.
b. Costs more in time and money than damaged.
c. But price of freedom is eternal vigilance.
b. Convictions as well as hope must be aroused.
a. Extension of suffrage of doubtful propriety.
b. Should, if possible, not count but weigh ballots.

V. Miscellaneous Social and Economic Considerations.
1. Social side of private property. (Ely.)
a. Exclusive right given by organic society.
a. Seen from all legal codes.
b. Expropriation better than confiscation.
b. Could be profitably socialized in many cases.
a. Recognized by religion; voluntary by individuals.
b. By legislation or through public agencies.
c. Can be regulated and controlled without nationaliz
a. Disinheritance cannot be easily justified.
b. Nor too large an inheritance tax.
2. Desirability of a higher social level.
a. Productively, facilitating services, cheap products.

b. Higher ethical level; wages, trade, humanity.
c. Protective legislation equalizing opportunity.
3. Opportunities given for private effort.
a. By wealthy in schools, libraries, hospitals.
b. Should *union* labor be preferred by public?
c. Fraternal, charity and temperance societies.
d. Divorce reform, law and good citizens leagues.
4. How lessen handicap of private industry?
a. Can a state guarantee employment? Switzerland.
b. Pawn shops in Europe. Labor bureaus doubtful.
c. Industrial education. Loan associations.
d. Free medical supplies, services and hospitals.
5. Waste of war removed by arbitration.
a. Europe is impoverished by standing armies.
b. Thirty billions debt, nearly a billion interest.
c. Christian civilization must vigorously oppose.

VI. Christianization of the Christian Church.
1. Distinction between Christianity and Christian church.
a. Historic phases of the Christian church. (Guizot.)
b. Essence of Christianity, spirituality *vs.* formula.
c. Corruption resulted from its assumption of force.
2. Does the modern church fulfill her mission?
a. Insisting too much on religious dogmas.
b. Neglecting human brotherhood in this life.
c. Has she not lost her influence on society?
a. By attracting chiefly educated and wealthy.
b. Masses, especially socialistic, having lost faith.
d. Socialism of Jesus and early Christian church.
3. Religion is primarily for life, not after death.
a. Relation of home to the church.
b. Duty of the church toward society.
a. Not only represses vice through individual.
b. And by education, missions and charities.
c. But by helping solve the labor problem.
c. What, then, is the mission of the pulpit?
a. Employers and capital must be righteous.
b. Labor must be fair, dilligent and honest.
4. Effect of an enthusiasm for humanity. (Strong.)
a. How enkindled and sustained.
a. New evolution of human nature.
b. Debased humanity still salvable. How?
b. Urgent reasons for such enthusiasm.
a. Would arouse the church's latent force.
b. Would help to bridge the social chasm.

22324

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